Concerning

EPISCOPACY:

The Former made by the Right Honorable, the late Lord Viscount *FALKLAND.*

And the Later by his Friend, Mr. *William Chillingworth.*

Published according to the Original Copies.

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A SPEECH CONCERNING EPISCOPACY.

Mr. Speaker,

WHosoever desires this totall change of our present Government, desires it either out of a conceit that is *unlawfull*, or *inconvenient*. To both these, I shall say something. To the first, being able to make no such arguments to prove it so my self, as I conceive likely to be made within the walls of so wise a House, I can make no answer to them, till I hear them from some other; which then (if they perswade me not) by the liberty of a Committee, I shall do. But this in generall. In the mean time, I shall say, that the ground of this government of Episcopacy, being so *ancient*, and so *generall*, so *uncontradicted* in the *first* and *best* times, that our most laborious Antiquaries can find no *Nation*, no *City*, no *Church*, nor *Houses* under any other; that our first Ecclesiasticall Authors tell us, that the *Apostles* not onely allow'd but *founded* Bishops (so that the

tradition for *some* Books of *Scripture*, which we receive as Canonicall, is both lesse ancient, lesse generall, and lesse uncontradicted,) I must ask leave to say, that though the Mysterie of Iniquity began suddenly to work, yet it did not instantly prevail; it could not ayme at the end of the race, as soon as it was started; nor could Antichristianisme in so short a time have become so Catholique.

To the second, this I say, that in this Government there is no *inconvenience* which might not be sufficiently remedied without destroying the whole; and though we had not par'd their Nails, or rather their Tongues, (I mean the High-Commission,) though we should neither give them the direction of strict rules, nor the addition of choyce Assistants (both which we may do, and suddenly I hope we shall;) yet the fear sunk into them of this Parliament, and the expectation of a Triennial one, would be such banks to those rivers, that we need fear their inundations no more.

Next I say, that if some inconvenience did appear in this, yet since it may also appear, that the change will breed greater, I desire those who are led to change by *inconveniences* onely, that they will suspend their opinions, till they see what is to be laid in the other ballance, which I will endeavour.

The inconveniences of the change are double, some that it should be yet done, others, that it should be at all done. The first again, double, 1. Because we have not done what we should do first; and 2. Because others have not done what they should do first; That which *we* should do first, is, to agree of a succeeding Form of Government, that every man, when he gives his Vote to the destruction of this, may be sure that he destroys not that, which he likes better than that which shall succeed it. I conceive no man will at this time give this Vote, who doth not believe this Government to be the worst that can possibly be devised; and for my part, if this be thus preposterously done, and we left in this blind uncertainty (what shall become of us!) I shall not

onely

only doubt all the inconveniences, which any Government *must hath*, but which any Government *may* have. This I insist on the rather, because if we should find cause to wish for this back again, we could not have it, the means being dispersst. To restore it again would be a miracle in State, like that of the resurrection to Nature.

That which *others* should do first, is, to be gone. For if you will do this, yet things standing as they do, no great cause appearing for so great a change, I fear a great *Army* may be thought to be the *cause*. And I therefore desire (to be sure that *Newcastle* may not be suspected to have any influence upon *London*,) that this may not be done, till our Brethren be returned to their Patrimony.

We are now past the inconveniences in point of Time; I now proceed. And my first inconvenience of this change, is, the inconvenience of change it self, which is so great an inconvenience, when the Change is great and suddain, that in such cases, when it is not *necessary* to change, it is necessary *not* to change. To a person formerly intemperate, I have known the first prescription of an excellent Physitian, to forbear *too good* a diet for a good while. We have lived long happily, and gloriously, under this Form of Government; Episcopacy hath very well agreed with the constitution of our Laws, with the disposition of our People: how any other will do, I the lesse know, because I know not of any other, of which so much as *any* other *Monarchy* hath had any experience; they *all* having (as I conceive) at least Superintendents for *life*: and the meer *word* Bishop, I suppose, is no man's aime to destroy, nor no man's aim to defend.

Next, Sir, I am of opinion, that *most* men *desire* * not this change, or else I am certain there hath been very suddenly a great change in men. Severall Petitions indeed desire it, but knowing how concern'd and how united that party is, how few would be wanting to so good a work, even those hands which value their number to others, are an argument

* See the Collection of Petitions *for* Episcopacy; printed for *Will. Shears*.

gument of their paucity to me. The numberleſſe number of thoſe of a different ſenſe, appear not ſo publiquekly and cry not ſo loud, being perſons more quiet, as ſecure in the goodneſſe of their Lawes, and the wiſdom of their Law-makers; And becauſe men petition for what they have not, and not for what they have, perhaps that the Biſhops may not know how many friends their Order hath, leſt they be incouraged to abuſe their authority, if they knew it to be ſo generally approved. Now, Sir, though we are truſted by thoſe that ſent us, in caſes wherein their opinions were unknown; yet truly if I knew the opinion of the major part of my Town, I doubt whether it were the intention of thoſe that truſted me, that I ſhould follow my own opinion againſt theirs. "At leaſt, let us ſtay till the next Seſ-"ſion, and conſult more particularly with them about it.

Next, Sir, it will be the deſtruction of many eſtates, in which many, who *may be* very innocent perſons, are legally veſted, and of many perſons who undoubtedly are innocent, whoſe dependances are upon thoſe eſtates. The Apoſtle ſaith, *he that provides not for his family, is worſe then an Infidel*, This belongs in ſome analogy to us; and truly, Sir, we provide ill for our Family (the Common-wealth) if we ſuffer a conſiderable part of it to be turned out of doors. So that, for any care is taken by this Bill for new dwelling, (and I will never conſent they ſhall play an after-game, for all they have) either we muſt ſee them ſtarve in the ſtreets before us, or (to avoid that) we muſt ſhip them ſome-whither away, like the *Moors* out of *Spain*.

From the hurt of the *Learned* I come to that of *Learning*; and I deſire you to conſider, whether, when all conſiderable maintenance ſhall be reduced to cure of Souls, all ſtudies, will not be reduced to thoſe which are in order to *Preaching*; the *Arts* and *Languages*, and even eminent skill in *Controverſies* (to which great leaſure and great means is required) much neglected, and (to the joy and gain of our common Adverſary,) *Syntagms*, *Poſtills*, *Catechiſms*,

chisms, *Commentators*, and *Concordances*, almost onely bought, and the rest of *Libraries* remain rather as of ornament, then as of use. I do not deny but for all this want, the wit of some hath attempted both, and the parts of some few have served to discharge both, as those of *Calvin*, to advise about, and dispatch more Temporall businesse into the bargain, than all our Privy-Councell; yet such abilities are extreamly rare, and very few will ever *preach twice a Sunday, and be any match for* Bellarmine. Nay I fear, Sir, that this will make us to have fewer able even in *Preaching* it self, as it is separated from generall Learning, for I fear *many whose parts, friends, and means, might make them hope for better advancements in other courses, when these shall be taken away from this, will be less ready to imbrace it*; and though it were to be wisht, that all men should onely undertake those Embassages, with reference to His Honour Whose Embassadors they are; yet I doubt not but many, who have entred into the Church by the Door, (or rather by the Window,) have done it (after) great and sincere service; and better reasons have made them *labour* in the vineyard, than *brought* them thither at first: and though the meer love of God ought to make us good, though there were no reward or punishment, yet it would be very inconvenient to piety, that *hope* of Heaven and *fear* of Hell were taken away.

The next inconvenience, I fear, is this; that if we should take away a Government which hath as much testimony of the *first* antiquity to have been *founded* by the *Apostles*, as can be brought for some parts of *Scripture* to have been written by them, lest this may avert some of *our* Church from us, and rivet some of the *Roman* Church to her; and (as I remember) the Apostle commands us to be carefull, *not to give scandall even to those that are without*. Sir, It hath been said, that we have a better way to know Scripture than by Tradition; I dispute not this, Sir, but I know that Tradition is the onely argument to prove Scripture to another,

another, and the first to every mans self, being compared to the Samaritan Woman's report, which made many first believe in Christ, though they after believed him for himself. And I therefore would not have this so far weakned to us, as to take away Episcopacy as unlawfull, which is so far by Tradition proved to be lawfull.

The next inconvenience that I fear, is this: having observed those generally who are against Bishops (I will not now speak of such as are among us, who by being selected from the rest, are to be hoped to be freer then ordinary, from vulgar passions) to have somewhat more animosity against those who are for them, then *vice versâ*; lest when they shall have prevaild against the Bishops, they be so far encouraged against their partakers, and will so have discouraged their adversaries, as in time to induce a *necessity* upon others, at least of the Clergy, to believe them as unlawfull as they themselves do, and to assent to other of their opinions yet *left at large*. Which will be a way to deprive us, I think, of not our worst, I am sure of our most learned Ministers; and to send a greater Colonie to *New England*, then it hath been said this Bill will recall from thence.

I come now from the incoveniences of taking away this Government, to the *inconveniences of that which shall succeed it*: and to this I can speak but by guesse, and groping, because I have no light given me what that shall be; onely I hope I shall be excused for shooting at random, since you will set me up no Butt to shoot at. The first, I fear the *Scotch Government* will either presently be taken; or if any other succeed for a while, yet the unity and industry of those of that opinion in this Nation, assisted by the counsell and friendship of that, will shortly bring it in, if any lesse opposite Government to it be here placed than that of Episcopacy. And indeed Sir, since any other Government than theirs will by no means give any satisfaction to their desire of uniformity; since all they who

who ſee not the diſhonour and ill conſequences of it, will be unwilling to deny their Brethren what they eſteem indifferent; ſince our own Government being deſtroyed, we ſhall in all likelyhood be aptest to receive that which is both next at hand and ready made. For theſe reaſons I look upon it as probable; and for the following ones, as inconvenient.

When ſome Biſhops pretended to *Jure divino* (though nothing ſo likely to be believed by the People, as thoſe would be, nor conſequently to hurt us by that pretence) this was cry'd out upon as deſtructive to His Majeſtie's Supremicy, who was to be confeſſed to be the Fountain of Juriſdiction in this Kingdom. Yet to *Jure divino* the *Scotch* Eccleſiaſticall government pretends, To meet when they pleaſe, to treat of what they pleaſe, to excommunicate whom they pleaſe, even Parliaments themſelves; ſo far are they from receiving either rules or puniſhments from them. And for us to bring in any *unlimited*, any *Independent* authority, the firſt is againſt the Liberty of the Subject, the ſecond againſt the Right and Privildge of Parliament; and both againſt the Proteſtation.

If it be ſaid, that this *unlimitednesse* and *independence* is onely in Spirituall things; I anſwer firſt, that arbitrary Government being the worſt of Governments, and our *Bodies* being worſe than our *Souls*, it will be ſtrange to ſet up that over the ſecond, of which we were ſo impatient over the firſt. Secondly, that M. *Sollicitor* ſpeaking about the Power of the Clergy, to make Canons to bind, did excellently inform us, what a mighty influence Spiritual power hath upon Temporal affairs. So that if our Clergy had the one, they had incluſively almoſt all the other. And to this I may adde, (what all men may ſee,) the vaſt Temporall power of the Pope allow'd him by ſuch who allow it him onely *in ordine ad Spiritualia*: for the Fable will tell you, if you make the Lyon

judge (and the Clergy, assisted by the people, is Lyon enough) it was a wise fear of the Poxe's, lest he might call a knubb a horn. And sure, Sir, they will in this case be Judges, not onely of that which is Spiritual, but of what it is that is so: and the people receiving instruction from no other, will take the most Temporal matter to be Spiritual, if they tell them it is so.

The Apostolical Institution of *Episcopacy*; demonstrated by Mr. *William Chillingworth*.

SECT. 1.

IF we abstract from *Episcopal Government* all accidentals, and consider onely what is essential and necessary to it; we shall find in it no more but this. An appointment of one man of eminent sanctity and sufficiency to have the care of all the Churches, within a certain Precinct or Dioceſſe; and furnishing him with authority (not absolute or arbitrary, but regulated and bounded by Laws, and moderated by joyning to him a convenient number of assistants) to the intent that all the Churches under him may be provided of good and able Pastors: and that both of Pastours and people, conformity to Laws, and performance of their duties may be required, under penalties, not left to discretion, but by Law appointed.

SECT. 2. To this kind of Government I am not by any particular interest so devoted, as to think it ought to be maintained, either in opposition to Apostolick Institution; or to the much desired reformation of mens lives, and restauration of Primitive discipline; or to any Law or Precept of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: for that were to maintain a means contrary to the end; for obedience to our Saviour, is the end for which Church-Government is appoin-

ted. But if it may be *demonstrated* (or made much more probable than the contrary) as I verily think it may ; I. That it is not repugnant to the government setled in and for the Church by the Apostles. II. That it is as complyable with the reformation of any evill which we desire to reform either in Church or State, or the introduction of any good which we desire to introduce, as any other kind of Government : And III. That there is *no* Law, *no* Record of our Saviour against it : then I hope it will not be thought an unreasonable motion, if we humbly desire those that are in authority, especially the High Court of Parliament, that in may not be sacrificed to clamour, or over-borne by violence : and though (which God forbid) the greater part of the multitude should cry, *Crucifie, Crucifie* ; yet our Governours would be so full of Justice and Courage, as not to give it upp untill they perfectly understand concerning Episcopacy in self, *Quid mali fecit*.

SECT. 3. I shall speak at this time onely of the first of these three points : That Episcopacy is not repugnant to the government setled in the Church for perpetuity by the Apostles. Whereof I conceive this which follows is as clear a demonstration, as any thing of this nature is capable of.

That this Government was received universally in the Church, either in the Apostles time, or presently after, is so evident and unquestionable, that the most learned adversaries of this Government do themselves confesse it.

SECT. 4. *Petrus Molinaus* in his Book *De munere pastorali*, purposely written in defence of the Presbyterial-government, acknowledgeth : That presently after the Apostles times, or even in their time (as Ecclesiastical story witnesseth) it was ordained, That in every City one of the presbytery should be called a Bishop, who should have pre-eminence over his Colleagues ; to avoid confusion which oft times ariseth out of equality. And truely, this form of Government all Chuches every where received.

SECT. 5. *Theodorus Beza* in his Tract, *De triplici Episco-*

Episcopatus genere, confesseth in effect the same thing. For having distinguished Episcopacy into three kinds, *Divine*, *Humane*, and *Satanical*, and attributing to the second (which he calls *Humane*, but we maintain and conceive to be *Apostolical*) not onely a priority of order, but a superiority of power, and authority over other Presbyters, bounded yet by Laws and Canons provided against Tyranny; he clearely professeth that of this kind of Episcopacy, is to be understood whatsoever we read concerning the authority of Bishops (or Presidents, as *Justin Martyr* calls them) in *Irenæus*, and other more ancient Writers.

To whom two others also from *Geneva* may be added: *Daniel Chamierus* (in Panstratia, tom. 2. lib. 10. cap. 6. §. 24.) and *Nicol. Vedelius* (Exercitat. 3. in epist. Ignatii ad Philadelph. cap. 14. & Exercit. 8. in epist. ad Mariam, cap. 3.) which is fully also demonstrated in D. *Hammonds dissertations against* Blondel (which never were answerd, & never will) by the testimonies of those who wrote in the very next Age after the Apostles.

SECT. 6. Certainly from these two great defenders of the Presbytery, we should never have had this free acknowledgement, (so prejudicial to their own pretence, and so advantagious to their adversaries purpose) had not the evidence of clear and undeniable truth enforced them to it. It will not therefore be necessary, to spend any time in confuting that uningenuous assertion of the anonymous Author of the Catalogue of Testimonies, for the equality of Bishops and Presbyters, who affirms, That their disparity began long after the Apostles times; But we may safely take for granted that which these two learned Adversaries have confessed; and see, whether upon this foundation layd by them, we may not by unanswerable reason raise this superstructure;

"That seeing Episcopal Government is confessedly so Ancient and so Catholique, it cannot with reason be denyed "to be Apostolique.

SECT. 7. For so great a change, as betweeen Presbyterial Government and Episcopal, could not possibly have prevailed all the world over in a little time. Had Episcopal Government been an aberration from (or a corruption of) the Government left in the Churches by the Apostles, it had been very strange, that it should have been received in any *one* Church so suddainly, or that it should have prevailed in *all* for many Ages after. *Variâsse debuerat error Ecclesiarum: quod autem apud omnes unum est, non est erratum,*

sed traditum. Had the Churches err'd, they would have va-
ried: What therefore is one and the same amongst all, came
not sure by error, but tradition. Thus *Tertullian* argues very probably, from the consent of the Churches of his time, not long after the Apostles, and that in matter of opinion much more subject to unobserv'd alteration. But that in the frame and substance of the necessary Government of the Church, a thing alwayes in use and practice, there should be so suddain a change as presently after the Apostles times; and so universal, as received in all the Churches; this is clearly *impossible.*

SECT. 8. For what universal cause can be assigned or faigned of this *universal* Apostasie? you will not imagine that the Apostles, all or any of them, made any decree for this change, when they were living; or left order for it in any Will or Testament, when they were dying. This were to grant the question; To wit, that the Apostles, being to leave the Government of the Churches themselves, and either seeing by experience, or fore-seeing by the Spirit of God, the distractions and disorders, which would arise from a multitude of equals, substituted Episcopal Government instead of their own. General Councells to make a Law for a generall change, for many ages there was none. There was no Christian Emperour, no coercive power over the Church to enforce it. Or if there had been any, we know no force was equal to the courage of the Christians of those times. Their lives were then at command (for they had not *then* learnt to *fight* for Christ) but their obedience to any thing *against* his Law was not to be commanded (for they had perfectly learn't to *dye* for him.) Therefore there was no power then to command this change; or if there had been any, it had been in vain.

SECT. 9. What device then shall we study, or to what fountain shall we reduce this strange pretended alteration? Can it enter into our hearts to think, that all the Presbyters and other Christians then, being the Apostles Schollers, could

could be generally ignorant of the Will of Christ, touching the necessity of a Presbyterial Government? Or, dare we adventure to think them so strangely wicked all the World over, as against knowledge and conscience to conspire against it? Imagine the spirit of *Diotrephes* had entered into some, or a great many of the Presbyters, and possessed them with an ambitious desire of a forbiddden superiority, was it possible they should acte not and atchieve it once without any opposition or contradiction? and besides that, the contagion of this ambition, should spread it self and prevail without stop or controul, nay, without any noyse or notice taken of it, through all the Churches in the World; all the watchmen in the mean time being so fast asleep, and all the dogs so dumb, that not so much as one should open his mouth against it?

SECT. 10. But let us suppose (though it be a horrible untruth) that the Presbyters and people *then*, were not so good *Christians* as the Presbyterians are *now*; that they were generally so negligent to retain the government of Christ's Church commanded by Christ, which we now are so zealous to restore: yet certainly we must not forget nor deny that they were *men* as we are. And if we look upon them but as meer naturall men, yet knowing by experience how hard a thing it is, even for policy arm'd with power by many attempts and contrivances, and in a long time, to gain upon the liberty of any *one* people; undoubtedly we shall never entertain so wild an imagination, as that among all the Christian Presbyteries in the World, neither conscience of duty, nor love of liberty, nor averseneſſe from pride and usurpation of others over them, should prevail so much with any one, as to oppose this pretended universal invasion of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the liberty of Christians.

SECT. 11. When I shall see therefore all the Fables in the *Metamorphosis* acted and prove stories; when I shall see all the Democracies and Aristocracies in the World lye down and sleep, and awake into Monarchies: then will I begin

gin to believe that Presbyterial Government, having continued in the Church during the Apostles times, should presently after (against the Apostles doctrine and the will of Christ) be whirl'd about like a scene in a masque, and transformed into Episcopacy. In the mean time, while these things remain thus incredible, and in humane reason impossible; I hope I shall have leave to conclude thus

Episcopal Government is acknowledged to have been universally received in the Church, presently after the Apostles times.

Between the Apostles times and this presently after, there was not time enough for, nor possibility of, so great an alteration.

And therefore there was no such alteration as is pretended.

And therefore Episcopacy, being confessed to be so Ancient and Catholique, must be granted also to be Apostolique,

Quod erat demonstrandum.

FINIS.

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